

Евразийская интеграция: анализ ключевых документов членов интеграционного объединения

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Аннотация: в создании Евразийского экономического союза (ЕАЭС) принимают участие Армения, Белоруссия, Казахстан, Киргизия и Россия. Созданию интеграционного объединения предшествовали различные документы, в которых были определены подходы отдельных стран постсоветского пространства к взаимодействию с соседями. Документы закладывали фундамент последующего взаимодействия бывших советских республик. После подписания договора о формировании ЕАЭС в каждом из государств приняты документы – двусторонние и многосторонние соглашения, которые определяют их стратегии сотрудничества в рамках интеграционного объединения, формируя общее правовое поле дальнейшего сближения. Особое внимание обращено к ключевым документам, в которых отражены позиции государств-членов ЕАЭС. В каждой из стран ЕАЭС было принято достаточное количество документов, которые дают представление о политике отдельных стран по вопросу интеграции, а также о характере сотрудничества между странами постсоветского пространства. В статье исследовано видение странами-партнерами России по ЕАЭС целей и задач интеграционных процессов в Евразии, а также выявлены перспективы их дальнейшего сотрудничества между собой и другими акторами, которые находятся вне рамок постсоветского пространства. Это отдельная группа государств, которые прямо или опосредованно оказывают влияние на евразийскую интеграцию. Основное внимание уделено эволюции положений в документах каждого из государств-членов ЕАЭС, определяющих их позицию в рамках объединения, проведен их анализ.

Ключевые слова: ЕАЭС, евразийская интеграция, Армения, Белоруссия, Казахстан, Киргизия, Россия

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Eurasian integration: analysis of the key documents adopted by the EAEU member states

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Abstract: Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia are involved in the establishment of the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU). The creation of the integration bloc was preceded by various documents that defined the approaches of individual countries in the post-Soviet area to interaction with their neighbors. The documents laid the foundation for subsequent interaction between the former Soviet republics. Having signed the treaty on the formation of the EAEU, each of the states adopted different documents – bilateral and multilateral agreements, which define their strategies of cooperation within the framework of the integration platform. It helped forming a common legal field for further rapprochement. Special attention is paid to the key documents that reflect the positions of the EAEU member states. Each of the EAEU countries has adopted a sufficient number of documents that highlight the policy of individual countries on the issue of integration. Such strategic papers also reveal the nature of cooperation between the countries of the post-Soviet area. The article analyses how Russia's partners in the EAEU access the goals and objectives of integration in Eurasia. The paper also evaluates the prospects for their further cooperation among themselves and with other actors beyond the post-Soviet area. This is a separate group of states that directly or indirectly influence the Eurasian integration. The main attention is paid to the evolution of ideas and provisions in the documents of the EAEU members with regard to their position within the framework of the bloc, their analysis was carried out.

Keywords: EAEU, Eurasian integration, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia

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INTRODUCTION

During the existence of the USSR, a single economic complex functioned in the country, where each republic had its own specialization. This factor contributed to the preservation of close cooperation ties between the states

formed after the collapse of the Soviet Union and prompted the start of their integration [1]. On December 8, 1991, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Belarus and Ukraine signed the Agreement on the Establishment of the

Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)¹. This marked the beginning of interaction between the former Soviet republics.

Initially, the CIS was «only an Agreement confirming the commitment of the newly independent states to cooperation in various areas» [1]. It turned into a full-fledged integration group after the signing of the Agreement on the Establishment of a Free Trade Zone (April 15, 1994²). The document was aimed at implementing the provisions of the Treaty on the Establishment of the Economic Union³ of September 24, 1993 (ratified by all partner countries of the Russian Federation in the EAEU). The Treaty did not establish an economic union, but provided for stages of deepening economic integration: the creation of a free trade area (FTA); then a customs union (CU); the formation of a common market for goods, services, capital and labor, and at the final stage the creation of a currency union. The agreement on the FTA

envisaged the abolition of tariff and non-tariff restrictions in mutual trade, as well as the implementation of duty-free trade to eliminate numerous trade barriers. Some countries that are currently part of the EAEU began to sign bilateral agreements on various areas of economic cooperation and develop free trade in a bilateral format even before the signing of the multilateral Free Trade Agreement of 1994. For example, the Agreement on the Principles of Trade and Economic Cooperation was signed between Belarus and Kazakhstan⁴, free trade agreements were signed between Armenia and Russia (1992), Belarus and Russia (1992)⁵, Belarus and Ukraine⁶ (1992; not a member of the EAEU), Belarus and Moldova⁷ (1994; not a member of the EAEU), Armenia and Tajikistan⁸(1994; not a member of the EAEU), etc.⁹

After 1994, this process intensified: free trade agreements were signed between Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan¹⁰ (1995), Kazakhstan and

- ¹ Agreement on the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) (signed on December 8, 1991) URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/1900745> (accessed: 03.03.2025).
- ² Agreement of the CIS countries of 15.04.1994 On the establishment of a free trade zone. Terminated between the Parties to the Free Trade Zone Agreement of 18.10.2011, for which the mentioned Agreement entered into force / 1994. - 15 Apr. URL: https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_3635/ (accessed: 03.02.2025).
- ³ Treaty of the CIS countries of 24.09.1993 On the establishment of the Economic Union. 1993. September 24. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/1900462> (accessed: 03.01.2025).
- ⁴ Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Government of the Republic of Belarus on the principles of trade and economic cooperation of September 16, 1992. Repealed as of December 16, 2015. 1992. September 16. URL: <https://etalonline.by/document/?regnum=i09200037> (accessed: 04.02.2025).
- ⁵ Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Armenia on free trade. 1992. September 30. URL: https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/international_contracts/international_contracts/2_contract/48806/ (accessed: 04.02.2025).
- ⁶ Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Belarus and the Government of Ukraine on free trade of December 17, 1992. 1992. December 17. URL: https://base.spininform.ru/show_doc.fwx?rgn=9711 (accessed: 04.01.2025).
- ⁷ Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Belarus and the Government of Ukraine on free trade of December 17, 1992. 1992. December 17. URL: https://base.spininform.ru/show_doc.fwx?rgn=9711 (accessed: 04.01.2025).
- ⁸ Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan and the Government of the Republic of Armenia on free trade of March 2, 1994. 1994. March 2. URL: https://base.spininform.ru/show_doc.fwx?rgn=20971 (accessed: 04.02.2025).
- ⁹ The General Register (List) of signed international documents on interregional and cross-border cooperation of the CIS member states until 2020 is available on the CIS Internet portal. URL: <https://e-cis.info/cooperation/3745/86862/> (accessed: 04.02.2025).
- ¹⁰ Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic on free trade of June 22, 1995. 1995. June 22. URL: https://base.spininform.ru/show_doc.fwx?rgn=8547 (accessed: 04.02.2025).

Uzbekistan¹¹ (1996; not a member of the EAEU), Belarus and Kazakhstan¹² (1997), Belarus and Kyrgyzstan¹³ (1999). Along with this, the parties discussed a list of exceptions from the free trade regime, as envisaged by the 1994 Agreement. In practice, this was implemented through the signing of protocols to bilateral free trade agreements that included exceptions from the free trade regime. In particular, such documents were signed by Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan¹⁴ (1995) and Kazakhstan and Tajikistan¹⁵ (1997). In 1995, Belarus¹⁶ and Kazakhstan¹⁷, together with Russia, signed protocols on the introduction of a free trade regime without exceptions and restrictions.

Unlike bilateral treaties, the parties failed to agree on a list of exceptions in a multilateral format. As a result, on April 2, 1999, the Protocol on Amendments and Additions to the Free Trade Area Agreement¹⁸ was signed, which is a framework document.

Its significance was that the FTA member countries abolished all tariffs in mutual trade, taxes and fees, as well as quantitative restrictions on the import and (or) export of goods. In addition, the bilateral free trade regime operating in the CIS was replaced by a multilateral format [2]. The protocol was signed by all of Russia's partner countries in the EAEU.

The 1994 agreement contained many exceptions (i.e. types of goods and activities that were not covered by the document), its participants could introduce «measures of state regulation generally accepted in international practice» in most cases, which gave them the right to introduce duties on the export of natural resources and import duties on goods coming from post-Soviet states. «The introduction of such practice made the agreement hard-to-implement, so the free trade regime, enshrined in the mentioned

- ¹¹ Agreement between the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic and the Government of the Republic of Uzbekistan on free trade of December 24, 1996. 1996. December 24. URL: https://base.spininform.ru/show_doc.fwx?rgn=6993 (accessed: 04.01.2025).
- ¹² Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Government of the Republic of Belarus on free trade of September 23, 1997. 1997. September 23. URL: https://base.spininform.ru/show_doc.fwx?rgn=8566 (accessed: 04.02.2025).
- ¹³ Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Belarus and the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic on free trade of March 30, 1999. 1999. March 30. URL: https://base.spininform.ru/show_doc.fwx?rgn=5045 (accessed: 04.02.2025).
- ¹⁴ Protocol on Exceptions from the Free Trade Regime to the Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic on Free Trade of June 22, 1995. 1995. June 22. URL: https://base.spininform.ru/show_doc.fwx?rgn=8548 (accessed: 04.02.2025).
- ¹⁵ Full title of the document: «Protocol on Exceptions from the Free Trade Regime to the Agreement of November 22, 1995 between the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan on Free Trade of October 28, 1997». The document is mentioned in the list of agreements between the governments of the CIS member states on the CIS Internet portal. URL: <https://e-cis.info/cooperation/3749/86884/> (accessed: 04.02.2025).
- ¹⁶ Protocol between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Belarus of 06.01.1995 On the introduction of a free trade regime without exceptions and restrictions between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus. 1995. January 6. URL: https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_91435/ (accessed: 04.02.2025).
- ¹⁷ Protocol of 20.01.1995 On the introduction of a free trade regime without exceptions and restrictions between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan. Terminated in accordance with the Order of the Government of the Russian Federation of 25.07.2014 N1394-r. 1995. January 20. URL: https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_91744/ (accessed: 04.02.2025).
- ¹⁸ Protocol of 02.04.1999 On Amendments and Supplements to the Agreement on the Establishment of a Free Trade Zone of 15 April 1994. Terminated between the Parties to the Free Trade Zone Agreement of 18.10.2011, for which the said Agreement entered into force. 1999. 2 Apr. URL: https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_30113/9a0bb03c9a84f7ad17fb82d98b1012742f170aab/ (accessed: 04.02.2025).

bilateral free trade treaty, continued to operate between the CIS countries»¹⁹.

A number of states: Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan continued to sign free trade agreements with the CIS countries, with which they had not been reached before the adoption of the 1994 Agreement and the 1999 Protocol. In 2000, similar agreements were concluded between Belarus and Armenia²⁰, between Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan²¹, and in 2004 - between Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan²² (not a member of the EAEU) and Belarus and Azerbaijan²³.

The signing of protocols «on exceptions from the free trade regime to bilateral free trade agreements» has also intensified. In 2000, they were concluded by Armenia and Russia²⁴, and in 2002 by «Armenia and Belarus»²⁵. In 2004 «Armenia and Russia»²⁶ and «Belarus and Ukraine»²⁷ signed protocols on the gradual

abolition of exceptions from the free trade regime. These documents laid the foundation for further economic integration within regional structures.

A free trade area is the first stage of economic integration on the way to creating an economic union. Soon after the signing of the Agreement on the Establishment of the FTA in 1994, individual countries that would later become members of the EAEU began to take steps to move toward the second stage of integration – «a customs union, the creation of which implies the development and implementation of common customs tariffs and non-tariff regulation of foreign trade, that is, the introduction of a single foreign trade policy in relation to third countries» [1]. Thus, «on January 6, 1995, Belarus and Russia reached a bilateral Agreement on the Customs Union»²⁸, which was joined by Kazakhstan on January 20,

¹⁹ Agreement on the Establishment of a Free Trade Zone of the CIS (1994). 2019. April 15. URL: [\(https://ria.ru/20190415/1552627856.html#:~:text=Agreement on the Creation of a Free Trade Zone, on the Free Trade Zone \(FTA\)\)](https://ria.ru/20190415/1552627856.html#:~:text=Agreement on the Creation of a Free Trade Zone, on the Free Trade Zone (FTA)) (accessed: 03.02.2025).

²⁰ Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Belarus and the Government of the Republic of Armenia on free trade of January 18, 2000. 2000. January 18. URL: https://base.spininform.ru/show_doc.fwx/show_doc.fwx?rgn=7350 (accessed: 04.02.2025).

²¹ Agreement between the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic and the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan on free trade of January 19, 2000. 2000. January 19. URL: https://base.spininform.ru/show_doc.fwx/show_doc.fwx?rgn=4960 (accessed: 04.02.2025).

²² Agreement between the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic and the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan on free trade of January 19, 2000. 2000. January 19. URL: https://base.spininform.ru/show_doc.fwx/show_doc.fwx?rgn=4960 (accessed: 04.02.2025).

²³ Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Belarus and the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan on free trade dated March 31, 2004. 2004. March 31. URL: https://base.spininform.ru/show_doc.fwx/show_doc.fwx?rgn=21023 (accessed: 04.02.2025).

²⁴ Protocol on Exceptions to the Free Trade Regime to the Free Trade Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Armenia of September 30, 1992 (Moscow, October 20, 2000) (terminated on August 27, 2015). 2000. October 20. URL: https://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/international_contracts/international_contracts/2_contract/46834/ (accessed: 04.02.2025).

²⁵ Protocol between the Government of the Republic of Belarus and the Government of the Republic of Armenia on Exceptions from the Free Trade Regime to the Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Belarus and the Government of the Republic of Armenia on Free Trade of January 18, 2000 (June 6, 2002). 2002. June 6. URL: https://base.spininform.ru/show_doc.fwx/show_doc.fwx?rgn=7303 (accessed: 04.02.2025).

²⁶ Protocol between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Armenia on the gradual abolition of exemptions from the free trade regime (Yerevan, January 30, 2004) (terminated on August 27, 2015). 2004. January 30. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/901906977> (accessed: 03.02.2025).

²⁷ Protocol between the Government of the Republic of Belarus and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on the gradual abolition of exemptions from the free trade regime of May 21, 2004. 2004. May 21. URL: <https://etalonline.by/document/?regnum=i70400072> (accessed: 04.02.2025).

²⁸ Agreement on the Customs Union between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus (Concluded in Minsk on 06.01.1995). 1995. 6 Jan. URL: https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_15906/ (accessed: 04.02.2025).

1995: the Agreement on the Customs Union²⁹ was concluded «between the governments of Belarus and Russia, on the one side, and Kazakhstan, on the other. These documents established the distribution of customs duties, taxes and charges, the mechanism for creating the CU, as well as the conditions for introducing temporary restrictions and customs control»³⁰.

In relations between the member states of the EAEU that are parties to these agreements, the mentioned documents are applied to the extent that they do not contradict the Treaty on the EAEU of May 29, 2014. In 1996, Kyrgyzstan (now a member of the EAEU) joined the CU, and in 1999, Tajikistan followed suit.

The parties then adopted documents specifying their actions to implement the 1995 CU Agreements. For example, Priority Measures for the Further Implementation of the Agreement of January 20, 1995 on the Customs Union between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation dated August 19, 1995³¹.

Other countries of the former USSR also began to show interest in the CU. On February 26, 1999, the Treaty on the Establishment of the Customs Union and the Single Economic Space was signed³². Additionally, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan joined the states of the «integration core» (Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia). The document «established three stages of subsequent economic integration: full provision of a free trade regime, the creation of the CU, and, finally, the formation of a single economic space (hereinafter - the SES) via the

implementation of a common economic policy, the creation of a common market for services, labor and capital» [3].

Thus, after 1995, the documents signed by Russia's partner countries in the later-created EAEU consolidated the trend of «multi-speed» integration – a model in which each country moves towards closer cooperation at the pace according to its interests and capabilities. For example, Armenia, currently a member of the EAEU, did not sign documents on the creation of the CU in the 1990s, as it does not have a common border with other member states, and the purpose of the CU is to exchange goods without customs inspection. In the case of Armenia, this would have been impossible, since the goods would have to pass through the territory of a neighboring state and clear customs twice. The Armenian leadership also referred to this reason after the launch of the Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC) CU in 2010 «consisting of Belarus, Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation until the creation of the EAEU in 2015»³³.

MOVEMENT TOWARDS A EURASIAN ECONOMIC UNION

In order to develop economic integration, the five countries that in 1999 signed the Treaty on the Establishment of the Customs Union and the Single Economic Space decided to create a full-fledged economic organization on the basis of the CU. Thus, on March 29, 1996, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia signed the Treaty on Deepening Integration

²⁹ Agreement of the CIS countries of 20.01.1995 On the Customs Union. 1995. 20 Jan. URL: https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_6257/ (accessed: 04.02.2025).

³⁰ Ibid

³¹ The document is mentioned in the list of agreements between the governments of the CIS member states on the CIS Internet portal. URL: https://e-cis.info/cooperation/3018/77943/?sphrase_id=62291 (accessed: 04.01.2025).

³² Treaty on the Customs Union and the Single Economic Space (signed in Moscow on 26.02.1999) (as amended on 10.10.2014). Suspended as of 31.10.2016. 1999. 26 Feb. URL: https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_31914/ (accessed: 05.02.2025).

³³ Three plus one. Why does Armenia need the Customs Union? 2013. September 4. URL: <https://lenta.ru/articles/2013/09/04/join/> (accessed: 05.02.2025).

in the Economic and Humanitarian Spheres, which laid the foundation for the creation of an interstate organization³⁴. It envisaged the creation of a «Community of Integrated States» in the future by deepening cooperation in the «economic, social, political and cultural spheres while respecting the sovereignty of the parties. Tajikistan joined the Treaty in 1998».

In October 2000, on the basis of the 1996 Treaty on Deepening Integration in the Economic and Humanitarian Spheres and the 1999 Treaty on the Establishment of the Customs Union and the Single Economic Space, the Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC) was created with the same participants, receiving the status of an international economic organization. The Treaty on its establishment was ratified by all member states and entered into force on May 30, 2001. The main objectives of the association were the development of economic integration, the formation of the CU and the SES, as well as the coordination of the actions of the EurAsEC states in their integration into the global economy³⁵.

The Eurasian Economic Community envisaged various areas of cooperation, for example, in the field of transport. «On the eve of the First Eurasian Economic Forum (February 2003), the President of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev sent a message to the leaders of the member states, which contained a concept for the prospects for its development. According to N. Nazarbayev, transit corridors,

transport projects, and integration in communication services were to become priority areas of cooperation» [4]. Cooperation in the field of transport within the Eurasian Economic Community was of particular relevance for Kyrgyzstan, whose desire to break the «transport impasse» and become «a transit country with safe and popular corridors for the transit of passengers, goods, and cargo», which is still recorded in its national development strategies (for example, in the National Development Strategy for 2018–2040)³⁶.

A new impetus to the formation of the legal framework for Eurasian integration in the post-Soviet space was given by the signing of the Agreement on the Formation of a Single Economic Space by Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia and Ukraine on September 19, 2003³⁷. The document assumed the accession of Ukraine to the Eurasian integration processes, which then refused to participate in this project [5].

Meanwhile, the «integration core» consisting of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia continued to deal with issues of the subsequent formation of the SES within the Eurasian Economic Community. Kyrgyzstan (like Tajikistan) did not sign the document³⁸, expressing its intention to join the formation of the SES within the Community as its economy was ready (the country proceeded from the principle of «multi-vector and multi-speed integration») [6].

At the same time, Kyrgyzstan participated in the activities of the Community in other areas:

³⁴ Treaty between the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic and the Russian Federation on Deepening Integration in the Economic and Humanitarian Spheres. 1996. March 29. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/1901125> (accessed: 05.02.2025).

³⁵ Treaty on the Establishment of the Eurasian Economic Community of October 10, 2000. 2000. October 10. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/901782780> (accessed: 05.02.2025).

³⁶ National Development Strategy of the Kyrgyz Republic for 2018–2040. URL: <https://stat.gov.kg/media/files/aead-c90a-809e-4bc0-81e2-41aa342aa236.docx> (accessed: 05.02.2025).

³⁷ Agreement on the formation of the Single Economic Space. 2003. September 19. URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/supplement/17150> (accessed: 06.02.2025).

³⁸ The Agreement on the Formation of a Single Economic Space of September 19, 2003 was of a framework nature and did not create the EurAsEC SES.

on 10 April 2002, it ratified the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the Eurasian Economic Community of 31 May 2001³⁹, aimed at ensuring conditions for the effective implementation of the tasks of the Eurasian Economic Community by securing the privileges and immunities of the Eurasian Economic Community bodies, their assets and property, etc.; it ratified agreements concerning the single commodity nomenclature of the Community's foreign economic activity⁴⁰, cooperation in the field of insurance⁴¹, information exchange on border issues⁴², exchange of information between tax⁴³ and customs authorities, cooperation in the stock markets⁴⁴, etc.

Kyrgyzstan's approach to participation in the formation of the Eurasian Economic Community CU was similar: in August 2006, at the Eurasian Economic Community Interstate Council, the decision to launch the customs union of the bloc was also made by the «integration core» without its participation,

since the country was not economically ready for this step [7]. Negotiations on Kyrgyzstan's accession to the customs union started only in October 2011⁴⁵.

In October 2007, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia began to create the customs union of the Eurasian Economic Community. The Treaty on the Establishment of a Single Customs Territory and the Formation of the Customs Union was signed⁴⁶, creating the CU of the Community. The document required amendments to previously adopted regulatory legal acts: for example, amendments were made to the 2000 Treaty on the Establishment of the Eurasian Economic Community, according to which the Interstate Council was created as the supreme body of the CU [8]. Since July 2010, a single customs tariff has been applied on the territory of the CU member states, and in July 2011, internal customs control was lifted. The most important step that transformed the territory of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia into a single customs area was the transition to

³⁹ Law of the Kyrgyz Republic of April 10, 2002 No. 55 «On Ratification of the Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the Eurasian Economic Community of May 31, 2001». 2002. April 10. URL: <https://cbd.minjust.gov.kg/4-960/edition/283975/ru> (accessed: 06.02.2025).

⁴⁰ Law of the Kyrgyz Republic of December 13, 2003 No. 231 On Ratification of the Agreement on the Common Commodity Nomenclature of Foreign Economic Activity of the Eurasian Economic Community. 2003. December 13. URL: <https://cbd.minjust.gov.kg/4-1303/edition/284442/ru> (accessed: 13.02.2025).

⁴¹ Law of the Kyrgyz Republic of May 11, 2004 No. 59 On Ratification of the Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Insurance within the Framework of the Eurasian Economic Community, Signed on April 27, 2003 in Dushanbe. 2004. May 11. URL: <https://cbd.minjust.gov.kg/4-1382/edition/284558/ru> (accessed: 12.02.2025).

⁴² Resolution of the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic of December 15, 2001 No. 791 On approval of the Agreement on information interaction of the member states of the Eurasian Economic Community on border issues, signed on September 14, 2001 in the city of Almaty. 2001. December 15. URL: <https://cbd.minjust.gov.kg/7-8040/edition/320499/ru> (accessed: 02/18/2025).

⁴³ Resolution of the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic of July 17, 2002 No. 480 On approval of the Agreement on the exchange of information between tax and customs authorities and the Agreement on customs and tax control over the production and circulation of ethyl alcohol, alcoholic, alcohol-containing and tobacco products in the territories of the member states of the Eurasian Economic Community, signed on March 30, 2002 in Almaty. 2002. July 17. URL: <https://cbd.minjust.gov.kg/7-8557/edition/321515/ru> (accessed: 14.02.2025).

⁴⁴ Resolution of the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic of October 25, 2004 No. 781 On approval of the Agreement on cooperation of the member states of the Eurasian Economic Community in the securities market, signed on June 18, 2004 in Astana. 2004. October 25. URL: <https://cbd.minjust.gov.kg/7-7263/edition/311545/ru> (accessed: 21.02.2025).

⁴⁵ Chronology of development. URL: <https://www.eaeunion.org/#about-history> (accessed: 13.02.2025).

⁴⁶ Treaty on the Establishment of a Single Customs Territory and the Formation of a Customs Union (signed in Dushanbe on 06.10.2007). 2007. October 6. URL: https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_93361/3d0cac60971a511280cbba229d9b6329c07731f7/ (accessed: 17.02.2025).

collecting tariffs on the import of goods from third countries at a single external customs border and the abolition of import duties on trade within the CU [6].

In 2010, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia expanded the legal framework for the creation of the EurAsEC Single Economic Space: in development of the provisions of the Agreement on the Formation of the Single Economic Space of September 19, 2003, the Declaration on the Formation of the Single Economic Space⁴⁷ was signed, and «17 basic international treaties were adopted, creating the basis for the beginning of the functioning of the EurAsEC (December 2010)»⁴⁸.

At that time, Armenia did not seek to participate in the CU and the EurAsEC, since it was actively developing contacts with the European Union (hereinafter referred to as the EU). Like other countries of the South Caucasus, Yerevan participated in the EU Eastern Partnership program, which implied the signing of association agreements aimed at integrating post-Soviet countries into the socio-economic space of the EU. Strengthening cooperation with European countries was also important for it in order to resolve other issues, such as opening the border with Turkey and international recognition of the Armenian Genocide in the Ottoman Empire (the latter was recorded in the Declaration of Independence of Armenia of August 23, 1990)⁴⁹. According to the former Prime Minister of Armenia T.S. Sarkisyan, Armenia's accession to the customs

union of the EurAsEC «in an economic sense... is inexpedient», so the country was looking for «forms of cooperation without the CU» [9].

Despite the fact that Armenia was negotiating with the EU about the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area within the framework of the Association Agreement with the EU [9], on October 18, 2011, together with its current partners in the EAEU, as well as Moldova, Tajikistan and Ukraine, it signed the CIS Free Trade Area Agreement. Armenia became the fourth country (after Belarus, Russia and Ukraine) to ratify it (September 11, 2012). E. Sharmazanov, then the vice-speaker of Parliament from the ruling Republican Party of Armenia, called the CIS FTA agreement a very important document for the country⁵⁰.

The 2011 CIS FTA Agreement was more advanced in content than the 1994 CIS FTA Agreement and its 1999 Protocol. For example, the new document, unlike these two treaties, which only declared the GATT/WTO principles, was entirely based on the GATT and WTO principles and agreements, and also recorded all the exemptions from the free trade regime that existed at that time⁵¹. Nevertheless, these exemptions may indicate incomplete trust between the FTA member countries. At the same time, the 1994 Agreement continues to be applied in relations with those member countries for which the 2011 Agreement has not entered into force, for example, with Azerbaijan⁵².

⁴⁷ Declaration on the Formation of the Single Economic Space of the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation. 2010. December 9. URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/supplement/802> (accessed: 19.02.2025).

⁴⁸ Chronology of development. URL: <https://www.eaeunion.org/#about-history> (accessed: 19.02.2025).

⁴⁹ Declaration of Independence of Armenia. 1990. August 23. URL: <https://www.gov.am/ru/independence/> (accessed: 26.02.2025).

⁵⁰ Armenia ratified the agreement on a free trade zone in the CIS. 2012. September 11. URL: <https://ria.ru/20120911/747621449.html> (accessed: 17.02.2025).

⁵¹ Analytical material on the Free Trade Area Agreement (as of October 31, 2011). 2011. October 31. URL: <https://cis.minsk.by/page/18968/analiticeskij-material-o-dogovore-o-zone-svobodnoj-torgovli-po-sostoianiu-na-31-oktabra-2011-g> (accessed: 06.02.2025).

⁵² Trade regimes. URL: <https://mfa.gov.by/export/traderegimes/> (accessed: 19.02.2025).

After the signing of the CIS FTA Agreement, the question arose about the relationship between the CIS FTA and the Eurasian Economic Community CU formats. If the Eurasian Economic Community CU is protectionist in nature with respect to imports of goods from third countries, since it «implies the use of mechanisms for conducting anti-dumping investigations and quotas, then the FTA implies the removal of tariff and non-tariff restrictions along with duty-free movement of goods between the CIS countries» [2].

PREPARATION FOR DEEPENING INTEGRATION

The issues of Eurasian integration in the post-Soviet area of that period were also reflected in the official documents of Russia's current partner countries in the EAEU. Thus, in the documents of Belarus, cooperation with the states of the former USSR was among the main priorities. Thus, this was noted in the National Strategy for Sustainable Socioeconomic Development for the Period up to 2020⁵³ adopted in May 2004: deepening cooperation with the integration associations of the CIS countries in the framework of the Union State of the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation and the EurAsEC was noted as a priority [8]. The National Security Concept approved in November 2010 contained similar provisions⁵⁴. In the Main Directions of Domestic and Foreign Policy of the Republic

of Belarus of November 14, 2005, the formation of good-neighborly relations with neighboring states was attributed to the main tasks of foreign policy⁵⁵.

In accordance with the Foreign Policy Concept of Kazakhstan [4] published in 2001, the CIS occupied the first place in the strategy of foreign economic relations (strengthening the economic union with Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Uzbekistan and other CIS countries). At the same time, Astana characterized as the «most important area» multilateral cooperation within the framework of the Eurasian Economic Community, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia [4].

The 2007 Foreign Policy Concept of Kyrgyzstan «proclaimed the idea of 'returning home', which implies the priority of cooperation with neighboring countries and CIS states, particularly with Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan»⁵⁶.

In the 2000s, Armenia adopted documents on national security (for example, the 2007 National Security Strategy), which emphasized the importance of cooperation with post-Soviet countries within the CSTO. The possibility of preparing a foreign policy concept that could characterize interaction with foreign states in other areas (primarily the economic sphere) was discussed in 2009.

⁵³ The National Strategy for Sustainable Socioeconomic Development of the Republic of Belarus through 2020 was approved by the National Commission for Sustainable Development of the Republic of Belarus (protocol No. 11/15 PR of May 6, 2004) and the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Belarus (protocol No. 25 of June 22, 2004). URL: <https://economy.gov.by/uploads/files/NSUR/NSUR-2020.pdf> (accessed: 26.02.2025).

⁵⁴ The Concept of National Security of the Republic of Belarus (approved by the Decision of the All-Belarusian People's Assembly of 25.04.2024 No. 5). 2024. April 25. URL: https://asio.basnet.by/about/575_Ukaz_nac_bezopas.pdf (accessed: 12.02.2025).

⁵⁵ Law of the Republic of Belarus No. 60-Z (Law of the Republic of Belarus of November 14, 2005 No. 60-Z On Approval of the Main Directions of Domestic and Foreign Policy of the Republic of Belarus. 2005. November 14. URL: <https://etalonline.by/document/?regnum=h10500060> (accessed: 23.02.2025).

⁵⁶ Ibid

However, the country later abandoned this idea. Armenia's foreign policy priorities were based on the balance of power in the region, considering the situational aspects of its geopolitical environment. A dominant feature of Armenia's foreign policy since the 1990s has been the establishment of balanced relationships with the world's leading power centers, which is also evident in the area of economic integration. In 2008, the former speaker of the Armenian Parliament T. Torosyan stated that «the vector of Armenia's foreign policy towards Russia does not have to be revised, but the need to intensify interaction with other centers including international and regional organizations is becoming a constant» [4].

Armenia announced its intention to join the Eurasian Economic Community in 2013. «One of the main reasons why the country chose to participate in the integration projects of the post-Soviet countries was its strong dependence on Russian investment and the need to maintain the Russian market for the supply of goods» [9]. «12 agreements were signed on issues of political, economic and military cooperation between Armenia and the Russian Federation. A road map was adopted on Armenia's accession to the Eurasian Economic Community (December 2013), aimed at harmonizing its national legislation with the legal framework of the Eurasian Economic Community. In January 2014, Armenia approved the action plan set out in the road map»⁵⁷.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EURASIAN ECONOMIC UNION

Plans for the establishment of the Eurasian Economic Union⁵⁸ were formulated in the Declaration on Eurasian Economic Integration adopted on November 18, 2011 by Belarus, Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation. The document noted «the successful functioning of the Eurasian Economic Community Customs Union and declared the possibility of moving to the next stage of integration construction»⁶⁰. The Declaration was also mentioned in the text of the Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union⁶¹ signed by Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia on May 29, 2014, in accordance with which a new international organization of regional economic integration was established.

On October 10, 2014, at the Meeting of the Interstate Council of the Eurasian Economic Community, the President of Belarus A.G. Lukashenko and the President of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev noted that «the Eurasian Economic Community had fulfilled its role with dignity and served as the foundation for the CU and the EAEU, and successfully laid the foundations for the creation of the Eurasian Economic Union». Within the framework of the Community, a contractual and legal basis for multilateral cooperation was formed: 215 treaties and agreements covered areas from trade to high technology⁶². The Treaty on the Termination of the Activities of the Eurasian Economic Community was also signed. The EAEU began to function on January 1, 2015.

⁵⁷ Accession of the Republic of Armenia to the EAEU. URL: https://eec.eaeunion.org/comission/departement/dep_razv_integr/prisoedinenie-gosudarstv-k-eaes/ra.php (accessed: 12.02.2025).

⁵⁸ The idea of creating a Eurasian Union was first voiced by the President of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev on March 29, 1994 during a speech at the Lomonosov Moscow State University.

⁵⁹ Declaration on Eurasian Economic Integration (Moscow, November 18, 2011). 2011. November 18. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/902321306> (accessed: 13.02.2025).

⁶⁰ Ibid

⁶¹ Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union (as amended on November 21, 2023) (version effective from June 7, 2024). 2014. May 29. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/420205962?marker=64U0IK> (accessed: 11.02.2025).

⁶² Meeting of the Interstate Council of the Eurasian Economic Community. 2014. October 10. URL: <https://www.evrizes.com/news/view/958> (accessed: 16.02.2025).

The Treaty on the Establishment of the EAEU envisages measures to complete the formation of the CU and the SES. Despite the fact that it was initially signed only by the countries of the «integration core», Armenia (January 2, 2015) and Kyrgyzstan (August 12, 2015) soon joined it. In 2013, Armenia, along with its desire to join the CU and the SES, also declared its readiness to participate in the formation of the Eurasian Union [7]. On October 10, 2014, the Treaty on Armenia's Accession to the EAEU was signed.

There have been long-standing discussions in Kyrgyzstan about the necessity of joining the EAEU. The country was pushed to join the platform by worsening economic problems, including the slowdown in economic growth. Kyrgyzstan took into account the significant scale of labor migration to Russia, which affected its socio-economic stability, as well as the volume of economic aid coming from Russia [10].

Bishkek announced its readiness to begin the process of joining the CU and the EurAsEC SES earlier than Armenia, in April 2011. On May 12, 2014, the final version of the draft road map was agreed upon and approved on May 29. It envisaged, firstly, the harmonization of Kyrgyzstan's national legislation with

the CU legal framework and, secondly, bringing the country's customs infrastructure facilities in line with CU requirements (in the case of Armenia, the road map only covered the first point). The Kyrgyz leadership demonstrated a desire to conclude the accession agreement by the end of 2014, and this agreement was signed on December 23, 2014⁶⁶.

Subsequently, the treaties on the accession of Armenia and Kyrgyzstan to the EAEU were amended by adopting the relevant protocols^{67,68}.

DOCUMENTS OF THE EAEU MEMBER STATES

Participation in the EAEU was reflected in the national documents of the member states, especially after the establishment of the integration association.

During the 2010s, the Republic of Belarus did not adopt a separate foreign policy concept: the main goals of the country's external affairs are enshrined in the Law On Approval of the Main Directions of Domestic and Foreign Policy of 2005. In 2021 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Belarus announced the plans to develop a new concept of the country's foreign policy⁶⁹. In accordance with the «National Security Concept of the Republic of

⁶³ Treaty on the Termination of the Activities of the Eurasian Economic Community (Minsk, October 10, 2014). 2014. October 10. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/420227082> (accessed: 19.02.2025).

⁶⁴ Treaty on the Accession of the Republic of Armenia to the Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union of May 29, 2014 (Signed in Minsk on October 10, 2014) (as amended on April 14, 2020). 2014. October 10. URL: https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_169854/ (accessed: 27.02.2025).

⁶⁵ Treaty on the accession of the Kyrgyz Republic to the Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union of May 29, 2014 (Signed in Moscow on December 23, 2014) (as amended on October 1, 2019). 2014. December 23. URL: https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_172976/0be36c1fcadd0cdd1f8c0984ef99fbc7d8da61b9/ (accessed: 28.02.2025).

⁶⁶ Accession of the Kyrgyz Republic to the EAEU. URL: https://eec.eaeunion.org/comission/departament/dep_razv_integr/prisoedinenie-gosudarstv-k-eaes/kr.php (accessed: 14.02.2025).

⁶⁷ Protocol on Amendments to the Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union of May 29, 2014 in Connection with the Accession of the Kyrgyz Republic thereto (Signed in Nur-Sultan on May 29, 2019). No longer in force. 2019. May 29. URL: https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_325811/ (accessed: 17.02.2025).

⁶⁸ Protocol of 14.04.2020 On Amendments to the Treaty on the Accession of the Republic of Armenia to the Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union of May 29, 2014 dated October 10, 2014. 2020. April 14. URL: https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_350402/ (accessed: 19.02.2025).

⁶⁹ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs intends to develop a new concept of Belarus's foreign policy. 2021. 11 Feb. URL: <https://belta.by/politics/view/mid-nameren-razrabotat-novuju-kontseptsiju-vneshnej-politiki-belarusi-428274-2021/> (accessed: 03.02.2025).

Belarus» of 2024⁷⁰, «strategic partnership and special relations with friendly states, deepening Eurasian integration» are attributed to the main national interests in the political sphere.

In the Concept of Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2020–2030⁷¹, «continuation of close cooperation with the EAEU member states in the areas established by the Treaty on the EAEU» and «optimization of approaches to the negotiation process within the EAEU in order to fully take into account the long-term national interests of Kazakhstan» are attributed to the «priorities in the field of regional and multilateral diplomacy»⁷². The Strategic Development Plan of the Republic of Kazakhstan until 2025⁷³ sets out the country's development priorities. One of them – «export promotion and diversification» – is planned to be achieved through «orientation of the manufacturing industry and services towards export, primarily within the EAEU».

In the Foreign Policy Concept of Kyrgyzstan⁷⁴ (2019) the EAEU is the second (only after the UN) in the list of organizations within which the country intends to develop active cooperation to solve socio-economic issues. In the National Development Strategy for 2018–2040⁷⁵, the EAEU is mentioned 20 times:

according to the document, Kyrgyzstan faces the task of increasing its own competitiveness compared to other members of the Union in various areas of the economy.

The 2020 National Security Strategy of Armenia⁷⁶ states: «by attaching great importance to the integration processes taking place within the EAEU, Armenia demonstrates active and proactive participation in the development of the structure, and also, through cooperation between key economies and economic units of other regions and the EAEU, expands the opportunities for international economic cooperation of Armenia»⁷⁷.

During the establishment of the EAEU, the member countries approved the principles of its further development. At the end of 2020, the Strategic Directions for the Development of Eurasian Economic Integration until 2025 were defined. They include, among other things, the transition of the Union to an innovative development path (increasing investment activity and modernizing the economies of the member states based on a new technological order), activating and building up scientific and technical potential (developing joint innovation programs), stopping the outflow of labor resources outside the Union,

⁷⁰ Decision of the All-Belarusian People's Assembly of April 25, 2024 No. 5 On Approval of the National Security Concept of the Republic of Belarus. 2024. April 25. URL: https://www.mil.by/ru/military_policy/basic/Концепция%20НБ.pdf (accessed: 07.02.2025).

⁷¹ The Foreign Policy Concept of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2020–2030 (approved by the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated March 6, 2020, No. 280). 2020. March 6. URL: https://www.akorda.kz/ru/legal_acts/decrees/o-koncepcii-vneshnei-politiki-respubliki-kazahstan-na-2020-2030-gody (accessed: 11.02.2025).

⁷² Ibid

⁷³ Strategic Development Plan of the Republic of Kazakhstan until 2025 (approved by the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated February 15, 2018 No. 63). URL: <https://primeminister.kz/ru/documents/gosprograms/stratplan-2025> (accessed: 25.02.2025).

⁷⁴ The Concept of Foreign Policy of the Kyrgyz Republic (to the Decree of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic of March 11, 2019 UP N 37). 2019. March 11. URL: <https://cbd.minjust.gov.kg/430045/edition/949067/ru> (accessed: 24.02.2025).

⁷⁵ National Development Strategy of the Kyrgyz Republic for 2018–2040. URL: <https://stat.gov.kg/media/files/aeadc90a-809e-4bc0-81e2-41aa342aa236.docx> (accessed: 13.02.2025).

⁷⁶ National Security Strategy of the Republic of Armenia. A Resilient Armenia in a Changing World. URL: <https://www.mfa.am/filemanager/security%20and%20defense/Armenia%202020%20National%20Security%20Strategy.pdf> (accessed: 13.02.2025).

⁷⁷ Ibid

increasing energy conservation and energy efficiency (it is assumed to combine efforts to create and use new technologies and innovations, including green technologies), expanding the Union⁷⁸ and intensifying economic cooperation with foreign countries and international organizations (including the alignment of the Union and the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative, strengthening interaction within the SCO)⁷⁹.

On December 25, 2023, the heads of state of the EAEU signed the Declaration on the further development of economic processes within the EAEU until 2030 and for the period until 2045 - Eurasian Economic Path⁸⁰. The document set the objectives of the integration association for the medium term until 2030 on the path to transforming the EAEU by 2045 «into a self-sufficient, harmoniously developed and attractive macro-region for all countries of the world, possessing economic, technological and intellectual leadership and maintaining a high level of well-being of the population in the member states». The Declaration defines six areas of cooperation: «providing the common market with key goods and resources and its effective functioning; formation of a common space of cooperative interaction and cooperation in the field of technological development; formation of a common transport and logistics space; formation of a common financial market; development of economic cooperation in areas with integration potential;

functioning of the EAEU as a platform of economic attraction in the international arena»⁸¹.

The Supreme Eurasian Economic Council approved the decision On the Main Directions of International Activities of the Eurasian Economic Union for 2025⁸² on December 26, 2024. The following goals are among the priority areas: «intensifying interaction with CIS states that are not members of the Union, as well as with other countries striving for equal and constructive partnership; developing a systemic dialogue with key integration and interstate associations of Eurasia (SCO, ASEAN); increasing the Union's transport connectivity with actively developing markets of third countries through the development of Eurasian transport corridors and their integration with multilateral international projects, etc.»⁸³.

CONCLUSION

Современные Thus, the Eurasian integration in the post-Soviet area is developing through a gradual deepening of cooperation between the participating countries, as evidenced by the documents they have adopted at both the international and national levels. Belarus, in its domestic strategies, emphasizes the priority of deepening integration within the EAEU and the Union State. Kazakhstan focuses on strengthening economic ties within the EAEU and forming a common market. Kyrgyzstan sets the task of

⁷⁸ As of January 2025, the following countries are observers of the EAEU: Moldova (since 2018), Cuba (since 2020), Uzbekistan (since 2020) and Iran (since 2024).

⁷⁹ Decision of the Supreme Eurasian Economic Council of 11.12.2020 No. 12 On the Strategic Directions for the Development of Eurasian Economic Integration until 2025. 2020. December 11. URL: https://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_375194/ (accessed: 13.02.2025).

⁸⁰ Declaration on the further development of economic processes within the EAEU until 2030 and for the period up to 2045 - Eurasian Economic Path. 2023. 25 Dec. URL: https://docs.eaeunion.org/docs/ru-ru/01443175/ms_26122023 (accessed: 15.02.2025).

⁸¹ Ibid

⁸² Decision of the Council of the Eurasian Economic Commission of October 18, 2024 No. 89 On the draft decision of the Supreme Eurasian Economic Council On the Main Directions of International Activities of the Eurasian Economic Union for 2025. 2024. October 18. URL: <https://www.alt.ru/tamdoc/24sr0089/> (accessed: 13.02.2025).

⁸³ Ibid

increasing competitiveness within the Union, emphasizing the importance of participation in the platform for solving transport and economic problems. Armenia, demonstrating a multi-vector approach, initially sought to cooperate with the EU, but later chose

the integration projects of the former USSR countries, which is confirmed by its participation in the EAEU. These examples show the multi-speed nature of integration, reflecting the national interests and priorities of the countries [11].

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